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The *adultos* consist of married adults and heads of families. Marriage is important as initiating the adult status, and it is the most productive one for both men and women. The adults are the most important group both economically and politically and they run the society. If adult males carry most of the responsibilities, they also enjoy many privileges. They may smoke and drink, have affairs with women, beat their wives, and otherwise exercise male prerogatives. These prerogatives are not supposed to apply to unmarried youths, but when young men begin to get drunk and run around with women, it is said that they "are becoming men."

The status of the aged is, theoretically, one of great respect. Old men and women can address anyone in the familiar *tú* and in return are to be addressed by *Vd.* But sometimes the more endearing *abuelito* or *papacito* is used. To contradict an *anciano* and certainly to beat an old man is an outrage; "it is like beating your own father." The status of the aged, however, is by no means an enviable one, particularly when old people can no longer support themselves. Children are supposed to support aged parents but there are cases of extreme neglect and the theme, "I would rather die than depend upon my children" is frequently heard. The old people do not take part in politics and in general do not have positions of leadership. Because of the rapidly changing culture, the *ancianos* are out of step with the times. Many speak Spanish poorly and have difficulty even in communicating with their grandchildren. In some cases the younger generation, particularly those who have been away to school, are embarrassed by the old-fashioned dress, speech, and manners of their grandparents.

## RACE

Race is not an important factor in status in Tepoztlán, and racial prejudice hardly exists. Although Tepoztecos are quite sensitive to color differences, there are no distinct racial groups as such recognized in the village. The three distinctions most commonly made are *Blanco*, *prieto*, and *indio*. The *blancos* are those with light skin and light eyes, characteristics which are definitely favored. The *prietos* are those with dark skin. The term *indio* has various connotations. Sometimes it is used as the equivalent of *campesino* as opposed to the city man; thus it may be said, "Here in Tepoztlán we are all *indios* and we get along on very little, whereas the city people are very demanding." At other times the word *indio* is used to designate low socio-cultural status, "el pobre, como es indito, no sabe ni siquiera hablar bien" (because the poor thing is Indian he can't even speak well). In this sense, many refer to the inhabitants of the smaller and poorer barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián as *indios*. *Indio* is also used as a term of criticism in reference to one who has poor self-control and is capable of violence. Thus Tepoztecos will say, "In Amatlán they are very Indian, if one is not careful he may be assassinated."

Basically, the term "Indian" is used to designate social status rather than physical type. A wealthy dark person who dresses in city style may not be considered *blanco*, but neither will he be called *indio*. On the other hand, a rich person who continues

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563 to dress in the white *calzones* and *huaraches* like most Tepoztecos, may be called  
 [196] "un indio platado," a wealthy Indian, or literally "a silvered Indian." Thus, the  
 [554] residents of Gabriel Mariaca are often described as "esos inditos tienen harta lana, son platados."

The term *negro* or *negra* is sometimes used as a term of abuse. An irate husband  
 [195] may call his wife *negra* or *cambuca* if she is a shade darker than he. But similarly,  
 [578] he may call her *gringa*, if she is somewhat lighter; both terms are intended as insults.

Many of the sons and daughters of the old *cacique* families seem to be lighter  
 [565] than the rest of the population, suggesting that the *caciques* of the Díaz epoch may  
 have had a stronger admixture of Spanish blood than did the rest of the popula-  
 tion. However, groupings do not run along racial lines. About an equal sprinkling  
 of light-skinned people is found among the rich and poor, the *cultos*, the *ignorantes*,  
 etc.

## WEALTH

556 The concepts of rich and poor are frequently used designations of social status in  
 Tepoztlán. But the terms are used in a relative way, are not easily defined, and are  
 applied, as a rule, to individuals rather than to groups. All Tepoztecos tend to  
 characterize themselves as poor, and there is no ostentatious display of wealth on  
 the part of the rich. Concealing wealth is a deep-seated trait, done to avoid envy,  
 claims of friends, taxes, and contributions to the church and public affairs. This at-  
 titude tends to limit the function of wealth as a factor for social differentiation. And,  
 by and large, the rich in Tepoztlán are not easily distinguishable from the poor.

Both rich and poor work the land dressed in the same white *calzones* and  
 [464] *huaraches*; both rich and poor hire day laborers when necessary; and men who own  
 property, as well as those who do not, hire themselves out as laborers when cash is  
 needed. Many of the present-day rich families were once poor, and they cling to the  
 habits of hard work and frugality with which they improved their economic status.  
 However, in varying degrees the rich have a higher standard of living than the  
 poor and can be said to eat better, dress better, and live in more comfortable and  
 better equipped homes. But a man's wealth is not judged by the way in which he  
 lives; rather it is estimated in the amount of land, cattle, plow-oxen, and money he  
 has.

In general there is no sharp social distance between the rich and poor, although  
 there is much sensitivity and awareness of differences in economic status. People  
 in Tepoztlán prefer the company of their equals or inferiors, rather than those who  
 are in a superior economic status. But although a rich man may explain the poverty  
 of a neighbor in terms of his being backward and ignorant, he will treat him with  
 due respect.

## LAND-OWNERSHIP

423 The expression, "He has many lands" (land parcels) is the simplest way the  
 556 Tepoztecán has of designating wealth and high social status. Conversely, when one

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including those in Tepoztlán, continue to work their tiny subsistence holdings with traditional backward methods. And the contrast between the old and the new agriculture in Mexico is becoming sharper: less than 1 percent of the cultivated land is worked with the aid of the country's 55,000 tractors; about 20 percent of the land is still worked by the pre-Hispanic method of cutting and burning without benefit of plow and oxen. The production of Mexico's two basic food crops, corn and beans, has managed to keep up with the rapid population growth in the past twenty years but the margin of security has been slight. In drought years Mexico has been forced to spend its precious dollars to import huge quantities of corn to feed its people. 177 [241]

That the Mexican economy cannot give jobs to all of its people is indicated in the fact that from 1942 to 1955 about a million and a half Mexicans came to the United States as *braceros* or temporary agricultural laborers, and this figure does not include the "wet backs" and other illegal immigration. Mexico has also become increasingly dependent on the United States tourist trade for stabilizing its economy. In 1957, over 700,000 tourists from the United States spent almost 600 million dollars in Mexico, making tourism the single largest industry in the country. The income from the tourist trade is about equal to the total Mexican federal budget.

One aspect of the standard of living which has improved very little since 1940 is housing. With a rapidly rising population and with urbanization, crowding and slum conditions in the larger cities and towns are actually getting worse. Of the 5.2 million dwellings reported in the Mexican census of 1950, 60 percent had only one room and 25 percent two rooms; 70 percent of all houses were made of adobe, wood, poles and rods, or rubble, and only 18 percent of brick and masonry. Only 17 percent had private, piped water.

## The Village

How has Tepoztlán changed in the light of these national trends? In 1956 the village did not look much different from the way it looked in 1943. The plaza and market still seemed rather desolate and unprosperous; no additional buildings had been built in the center. There were no new streets or paved roads except for two long cement treads which led up a steep street to the *Posada del Tepozteco*, the new tourist resort run by an American family. More automobile and bus traffic entered the village, and trucks came in with such new items as purified water and tanks of cooking gas for the homes of the foreign colony. 361 [363] [485] [563] [494]

Village men still carried water to their homes from the nearest fountain; women still queued up to have their corn ground at the mills. The older people looked much the same, but the clothes of the younger people were more varied, colorful, and citified. More young women had short hair and permanent waves, and one young girl wore blue jeans. The young men wore modern trousers, shirts, and jackets, and more children had shoes, sweaters, and store-bought clothes. The small shops sold more canned goods and pack- 177 511 [291]

leading Mexican banker who wanted to build a home in the village negotiated for over a year before he succeeded in buying a modest-sized idle plot of land whose owner was living in Mexico City. By 1956, Tepoztecs had sold almost forty plots to as many outsiders for building homes in the village and in the lovely valley below. Tepoztecán middlemen are now speculating in land because of the steadily rising prices. A village site valued at about 50 centavos per square meter in 1943 sold in 1957 for as much as 12 pesos a meter (100 centavos to the peso).

Tepoztlán has become an international tourist colony. The non-Tepoztecán home owners now include native Mexicans, naturalized Mexican citizens of Spanish, French, German, Dutch, Japanese, and Italian ancestry, and a few Americans. Few of these people live in the village the year around but spend their holidays and vacations there. The construction of thirty-five new homes for the foreign colony has given employment to some Tepoztecán masons and day laborers. Some of the building materials—stone, sand, and tiles—also have been purchased locally. A number of the families have taken Tepoztecán girls as domestic servants both in the village and in their Mexico City or United States homes, and about a dozen Tepoztecs have jobs as caretakers. The colony also provides some additional income to local meat and milk dealers and other merchants. On the whole, the "foreigners" form few friendships in the village and except for the *Carnaval* participate very little in village affairs. It is said that most of the outsiders opposed the campaign to bring electricity to Tepoztlán for fear that it might spoil the primitive rustic quality of the village. It should be noted that among the non-Tepoztecs who have lived in the village are some of Mexico's leading intellectuals and artists and a few doctors. Some of these men have taken a great interest in the villagers and have helped them in their efforts to build a new high school, to obtain city water, and most recently (June 1958) to procure electricity.

Other forms of tourism have also grown rapidly and tourist facilities have improved. Most important has been the conversion of the banker's private home into one of the most charming resorts in Mexico, the *Posada del Tepozteco*. Since the late forties, Mexican and Hollywood movie producers have used Tepoztlán as the setting for a number of movies.

Since 1943, educational facilities have been expanded in the village. Two new schools built in the larger barrios gave the village a total of four elementary schools. Attendance rose from about 750 in 1950 to over 900 in 1956. In 1950, a high school was completed, and attendance rose from 34 in the first year to 110 in 1956. Boys still predominate over girls in both elementary and high schools. The surrounding villages have begun to reach out for higher education and now send their children to the central high school in Tepoztlán. Each year a number of Tepoztecán high-school graduates go on to the university in Mexico City.

In the past ten years bus travel to Cuernavaca has almost doubled and travel to Mexico City also has increased. On an average week day approximately 500 Tepoztecs take the bus to Cuernavaca to work, shop, study, sell produce, and to find recreation. Some of the peasants now think it worthwhile to take the bus to their *milpas*, a distance of two or three kilometers, rather